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Executive Registry

76-8095/1

7 June 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: See Distribution

SUBJECT : 25 June AAUP Annual Meeting and the Offer
of Mr. Baldwin to be Helpful at Same
(Attached)

1. I phoned Mr. Baldwin this morning to say that we do not have a Van Alstyne letter dated 24 May. You will note that Mr. Baldwin will appear on the panel re CIA/FBI. He told me it is alluded to in an AAUP newsletter which he is sending along for Mr. Bush. He went on to say that he wished to be as helpful as possible and would welcome any supporting material or ideas. He also advised that he is a law professor at the University of Wisconsin on loan to the Department and will be returning there in the near future.

2. I expressed appreciation on behalf of Mr. Bush and advised that we would be back in touch with him. Please give me any thoughts you may have for DCI review.

[Redacted Signature]

B. C. Evans
Executive Secretary

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Attachment

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Approved For Release 2005/06/08 : CIA-RDP79M00467A001100010014-4



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

June 1, 1976

Mr. George Bush
Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C. 20505

Dear Mr. Bush,

I write as a member of the National Council of the American Association of University Professors and because I have been reading correspondence between its President, William Van Alstyne, and you. Van Alstyne's letter of May 24 ends by referring to a panel discussion on June 25 at the annual meeting on the CIA and FBI covert activities on campuses. I have been assigned the task of appearing on that panel.

Your good letter to Van Alstyne of May 11 would, I think, satisfy a great many of us, but obviously Mr. Van Alstyne puts more faith in the generalities of the Church Committee's report than upon your forthright comments. I note that you offer to meet with Mr. Van Alstyne, and I do hope that you will pursue this, despite his rebuff.

I deeply believe that your Agency must profit from the competence of the American academic community, and I write simply to express my sympathy and to state that not all officers in the AAUP necessarily agree with its President.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Gordon B. Baldwin".
Gordon B. Baldwin
Counselor on International Law

June 9, 1976

Dear Mr. Baldwin,

I just can't tell you how much a number of us here appreciate your warm letter of June 1st. We are indeed greatly indebted to the academic community in our continuing efforts to provide policymakers with the most sophisticated interpretation of foreign events possible.

Sincerely,

George Bush

George Bush

Mr. Gordon B. Baldwin
Counselor on International Law
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

1 - ES
1 - DDI
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(EXECUTIVE REGISTRY FILE E-1.2.1)

Executive Registry
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

E-1.2.1

June 7, 1976

Mr. Ben Evans
Executive Secretary
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C. 20505

Dear Mr. Evans,

I enclose herewith a copy of the AAUP Conference Newsletter which contains, I believe, the letter of May 24 from Van Alstyne to Bush. It is hard for me to determine what parts of the Newsletter are actual quotes because the Association seems to be sparing in its use of quotation marks.

I also enclose a draft of remarks that I may make at the National AAUP Meeting. Because I am unclear as to the precise format of the "panel discussion," it is unlikely that I would be able to deliver all nineteen pages, but I may offer these comments for publication with appropriate academic footnotes, etc., and possible revision in the AAUP Bulletin. I would, of course, be grateful for any of your comments.

Sincerely,

Gordon B. Baldwin
Counselor on International Law

Professor of Law
University of Wisconsin

Enclosures:
As stated.

RECEIVED
JUN 10 1976
E-1.2.1

DRAFT

National Meeting of AAUP

Santa Barbara, California

June 29, 1976

THE CIA IN ACADEMIA

Gordon B. Baldwin

Professor of Law
University of Wisconsin*

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- * In obedience to the injunction about disclosing sponsors, if any, I covenant that there are none and that I am only a Professor of Law. For a one-year period just preceding the A.A.U.P. convention I served in the Department of State as Counselor on International Law. The thoughts expressed here, however, represent my views and not necessarily those of the Department of State, or of any other Government Agency.

An old story illustrates the differences among a lawyer, a philosopher, and a theologian. A philosopher is like a blind man in a dark cellar at midnight looking for a black cat that isn't there. He's distinguished from a theologian in that the theologian finds the cat. A lawyer, however, will smuggle a cat in under his overcoat and emerge to produce the animal in triumph.

If the "black cat" symbolizes CIA wrongdoing on campus, then, I believe, the Church Committee report reveals the character of all three professions.* First, the Committee stressed what is neglected here -- that foreign intelligence gathering is vital and that in the majority of CIA's relations with academics there is no cat. Agency inquiries relating to a subject's professional competence should be encouraged, are desirable, -- the Committee

* S.Rept. 94-755, Foreign and Military Intelligence, Books I, II, and III, Final Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with respect to Intelligence Activities, 94th Cong., 2d Sess.

finds -- and should not be forbidden.* Secondly, the Committee concludes that it is improper for academics to have a confidential relationship with CIA -- although some of us dispute that conclusion; and thirdly, I believe the Committee "imports a cat" by suggesting some wrongdoing that just wasn't there to begin with. Whatever the accuracy of the Church Committee's report of facts, we can't easily ignore their challenge: namely, that "it is primarily the responsibility of the American academic community to set the professional and ethical standards of its members."**

We should, I believe, bear two points in mind as we respond. First, the issue is what now? What standards should we follow hereafter, not simply whether or not CIA violated its mandates in the past. Second, if we establish standards they should be neutral. Professional guidelines and standards that are dependent upon whether or not an individual happens to agree with the present or past foreign policies of the United States are neither helpful, nor are they standards.

* S. Rept. 94-755, Book I, pp. 189, 191.

** S. Rept. 94-755, Book I, p. 191.

Of course, we can't ignore the past -- but we don't necessarily have to reach the same conclusions as the Church Committee, or as our distinguished President, Bill Van Alstyne. Bill's most recent letter to George Bush* focuses upon three allegations of CIA wrongdoing; failure to disclose CIA "sponsorship;" CIA contracts with scholars for the publication of "propaganda;" alleged "operational" use of academics by CIA.

As to the first point, the critical issue, Bill says, is that the reader of a journal should take into account whether a publication is written by someone "sponsored" by CIA. One cannot quarrel with a practice that requires a writer to acknowledge his employer's identity, but it is more difficult to fix the writer's responsibility for noting other associations.

* Letter of 24 May 1976, Van Alstyne to Bush, AAUP Chapter Conference Newsletter, 26 May 1976. The first letter from Van Alstyne to Bush is in Chronicle of Higher Education, 17 May 1976, p. 8.

Perhaps we could agree on a definition of "sponsorship" for purposes of deciding how to footnote an investigator's article. I don't think it would be helpful, however, because many personal associations influence one's approach and it's manifestly impossible to list them all. Our association with the AAUP is surely open, but should those who write on constitutional law always and invariably list their membership, and degree of affiliation in a footnote? When someone writes about the abortion case, should church affiliation, if any, or lack of it, be footnoted? That association may be more relevant to the author's conclusions than attendance at Yale. Or, if one writes about the proper balance between the powers of the President and those of Congress, should the current political affiliation of the author be revealed? What should the rules be, or should we have any at all? The answers are not self-evident.

I agree, however, that knowing the sponsorship of a document helps the reader. Look, for example, at the Church Committee's report which is contained in an awesome trilogy of books dribbled out to the

public, part by part. We have received about 2,000 pages in three volumes. Let us remember what we learned during the 1950's about Committee reports. They do not, however revealing, establish facts. Indeed, that is not their primary function. The fundamental purpose of a Committee Report is to further legislative purposes by gathering and distributing legislative findings. Witnesses are carefully selected and screened. They are not, *or are only*, cross-examined -- the proceedings are often televised and are more inquisitorial than adversary. The Church Committee's procedures seemed fairer to me than those of the Pike Committee, but still the result was one-sided. The targets of a report may, or may not, be allowed the courtesy of seeing a draft. The Church Committee's staff did give the executive branch opportunities to comment, and object to parts; and the Committee did delete some material, and condense parts.

Bill, properly, asks us to evaluate material in the light of its sponsors. The Church Committee report should also be evaluated in the light of its sponsors -- who are legislators, not administrators; who are not charged with executive responsibility; and who are not obliged in their daily work to deal

with foreign allies or adversaries. Some may find it relevant that its chairman had apparently decided to become a candidate for President. Moreover, the report is almost entirely the product of its staff -- bright, mainly young, people whose conscience had been seared by their feelings about Vietnam, and probably Chile, but who were uninformed, if not uncontaminated, by knowledge of how academics have historically contributed to foreign intelligence gathering. Notably lacking in the report is a sense of history, and of balance. The general outline of the contributions of British academics to their nation's intelligence organizations is well-known.* The work, usually quite confidential, of Oxford and Cambridge dons for their intelligence services is unheralded, unremarkable, but doubtless invaluable.

Most will assume that an academic is not justified in lying about a relationship with CIA. Maybe, but the question of disclosure of an association is very complicated. I do know of situations

* Generally, see material in Brown, A Bodyguard of Lies (1975); Winterbottom, The Ultra-Secret; Kahn, The Codebreakers; Stevenson, A Man Called Intrepid.

where being misleading, or engaging in prevarication, may be arguably justifiable for a professional. Lawyers still argue whether or not it is improper to give legal advice which will very likely tempt the client to commit perjury, or place a witness on the stand who will probably tell a lie.* Dean Freedman shows that the answer is by no means certain, and that to even suggest propriety risks disbarment. Should a doctor, invariably, reveal his diagnosis to his patient? Perhaps the information will be additionally harmful. I can't condemn, without facts, a physician who "lies" to his patient, nor am I wholly clear that a professor should always, under any conceivable set of circumstances, tell the whole truth and nothing but the truth. I happily refrain, however tempted, from describing some of my students as dopes. Is it unethical for someone studying the possible toxic effects of microwave radiation loosed by the Russians to seek information from reputable academic scientists on the ground that he's about to purchase a microwave oven? H.H. Monroe, generally known as

* See Freedman, "Professional Responsibility of the Criminal Defense Lawyer," 64 Mich. L. Rev. 1469 (1966).

Saki, wrote an entrancing short story about a talking cat, Tobermory, who always told the truth. That cat lead a wretched -- and short -- life. In a large sense, deception is part of the game of nations. Individuals are inevitable participants, and philosophers dispute whether the rules of ethical behavior applicable to individuals can apply in the international arena.

The second of the Van Alstyne complaints is that CIA contracts "with scholars for publication to be used as 'propaganda' which nonetheless appears to be professionally detached and reliable scholarly publication."

The third complaint concerns allegations that CIA makes "operational use" of academics in a "covert" fashion.

The Director of Central Intelligence takes issue with the thrust of all these allegations in a letter of May 11th. "None of the relationships [with CIA]," says Mr. Bush, "are intended to influence what is taught or any other aspect of a scholar's work. We specifically do not try to inhibit the 'free search for truth and its free exposition.' "*"

* Letter of 11 May 1976, AAUP Chapter Conference Newsletter, 26 May 1976, pp. 2-3

Neither Bill, nor the Committee, seem to find this assurance comforting. Bill asks for a blanket assurance from the Agency that it will not employ any academics for "covert" operations.

Central to the Church Committee's report is its distinction between open and clandestine relations. Broadly, the Committee believes that the independence and integrity of an educational program are endangered per se by secret relationships. I'm not sure why. If, for example, a local real estate dealer hired a business school professor to study the feasibility of a shopping center on a particular piece of land, should the identity of the undisclosed principle make an ethical difference to the academic: Woolworth, Penney, Sears, CIA, or an Arab prince? Would it make an ethical difference if the dealer's real objective were a factory, or some other use? The problem of when a confidential relationship is in the public interest deserves deeper thought than the Committee gives it.

Parenthetically, I emphasize that all contacts between the Department of State's intelligence branch and the academic community are open -- the Department wants it that way. Funding sources are always disclosed, and a consultant or contractor

with the Department is not deceived. I made inquiries about this and was firmly urged to emphasize the openness with which the Department proceeds. Ordinarily, if time allows, requests for bids are advertised, but the Department also invites those with research ideas to submit them. Its budget is small, unfortunately, but the Department's interests are so wide ranged that I urge anyone with foreign policy, or foreign area interests, to consider approaching the Department for support.

Surely there is a valid distinction between performing research and being "operational" -- the edges are clear but the line between them is not sharp nor self-defining. Perhaps the Committee realized this in admitting that "it does not recommend a legislative prohibition on the operational exploitation of individuals in private institutions by the intelligence agencies. The Committee views such legislation as both unenforceable and in itself an intrusion on the privacy and integrity of the American academic community."* The Committee, therefore, does not resolve the appropriateness of

* p. 191.

an individual academic's decision to offer assistance to the CIA, or another intelligence agency, voluntarily without disclosing his offer to the public generally, or to his dean or a department specifically.

The Committee does recommend, without giving its reasons, that the CIA's internal directives "require that individual academics used for operational purposes by the CIA, together with the President or equivalent official of the relevant academic institution, be informed of the clandestine CIA relationship." I find this provision curious and also raising questions of academic independence. Should a professor who agrees during his summer "vacation" to write a report on the geology of Central Asia for the CIA be obliged to tell the President of the university of his "employer," his travels, and about his work? Ordinarily Presidents and Chancellors are not concerned with such specifics. We generally applaud an administration that leaves us alone and sees that the budget is balanced and classes are taught; nor can we properly object if we're asked to give a full day's work for a day's pay. Should universities issue rulings limiting, or regulating, the contacts of academics with the CIA? Of course, some institutions

decide not to undertake classified research -- that's a different problem, but a blanket rule would raise serious questions of impairing free association.

The Committee's uncertainty about recommending legislation may partly be attributed to some doubt as to whether or not it is a federal function to set ethical and professional standards. Is Congress authorized to tell us when we may not decide to have a confidential relationship with the government? Furthermore, can we assuredly say it is never in the government's interests to employ confidential agents? Presidents of the United States have repeatedly employed secret agents, and the Supreme Court one hundred years ago upheld their employment without statutory authorization as constitutional.*

The Church Committee's discussion of the constitutional problem of regulating intelligence gathering was pitifully weak. The extent to which Congress has constitutional authority to control

* Parenthetically, at least two members of the Supreme Court have had professional experience in intelligence work; Justices Powell and Stevens.

the means of gathering it, and to require disclosure of the product is not clear. Foreign intelligence is primarily an executive department need, flowing from particular responsibilities in foreign affairs and in national defense. Several Supreme Court cases support arguments that Congressional power both to control the means and to obtain the information here is limited (Totten, Curtiss-Wright, C & S Airlines).* Federalist Paper #64 alludes to foreign intelligence, states that the President may obtain it, and decline to furnish it to Congress. Furthermore, international law may limit the means employed. None of these legal questions are adequately addressed by the Church Committee report -- I found its law discussion short, incomplete, and misleading. Furthermore, the Church Committee did not cover the rich historical literature revealing state practices. These are relevant, if not decisive, in determining what international law requires.

* Totten v. U.S., 92 U.S. 105 (1876); U.S. v. Curtiss-Wright, 299 U.S. 304 (1936); Chicago and Southern Airlines v. Waterman S.S. Corp., 333 U.S. 103 (1948).

The Church Committee does not, I believe, adequately understand that confidential relationships may be in the public interest. We are generally agreed that some confidential relationships should be fostered by both the legal order and by professional/ethical standards. These include communications between husband/wife, priest/penitent, and doctor/patient. Legislators now hear requests that we create other confidential relationships; newspaper reporter/informant, for example. Recently some members of Congress expressed an interest in supporting the confidentiality of information supplied to the government by Indians. The Church Committee, however, has some misgivings about confidentiality as it involves intelligence gathering and the Committee casts doubt upon the propriety of an individual's decision to assist covertly the government agency charged by the Congress and by the President with the duty of obtaining the best possible foreign intelligence.

The CIA's involvement with academic institutions was listed in the Church Committee under four categories, in which academics:

1. Provide leads and make introductions for intelligence purposes;
2. Collect intelligence abroad;
3. Conduct research and training which may be financed, overtly or covertly, by CIA; and
4. Are funded directly or indirectly by CIA.

As to each of these four, the Committee commented briefly.

First, the material relating to how academics provide leads and make introductions for intelligence purposes was substantially abridged in the report -- at the request of the executive branch. The primary reason was not so much to hide something about which the agencies are ashamed, but to protect methods and sources, and the privacy of individuals and institutions. I've not seen any suggestion whatsoever that any of the leads and introductions violated state or federal law.

Some of the questions raised here involve matters of propriety and fairness more than questions of legality. First and foremost, we have ethical obligations toward our students, and even

if the law requires us to speak, most of us would be uncomfortable if required to disclose a confidence entrusted to us by a student. Furthermore, we surely feel that we should not place one of our students in an embarrassing position.

We enter here a sensitive area in which the questions are so difficult that we may be unable to make firm rules. Some of our foreign students have become, or will become, important political figures at home. Should we assist our own foreign policy makers who deal with them? What are the limits to that assistance? If one of our foreign visitors has a particularly unhappy, or striking, experience here, should that information be passed on. Of course, all students have rights to their privacy, but all Americans share a common interest in dealing fairly, intelligently, and effectively with foreign leaders.

The Church Committee does mention extensive Soviet intelligence and espionage activity directed against the United States. Other countries also maintain agents here. The Committee notes that foreign visitors to the U.S. include intelligence agents, secret police, and others in whom we have

some interest, and against whom we ought to protect ourselves. Statistically, we can predict that foreign agents are among our students; perhaps their duties include reporting on their fellow-students. What should we do? Finding the balance between improper intrusions into the lives of our inhabitants, and protecting ourselves and our wards from improper foreign activity is difficult, but it is a practical problem.

With respect to academics collecting intelligence abroad, the Church Committee called attention to various CIA directives forbidding the operational use of anyone lecturing or studying abroad under a grant from the Board of Foreign Scholarships which administer the Fulbright-Hayes program. I can testify, as a recipient of two such grants, that I was never approached by any U.S. intelligence organization to give them my thoughts and opinions. Indeed, I felt neglected in 1967 after our family hurriedly left Egypt that I was only asked to report to our local Rotary Club. The Committee saw no danger in "debriefing" travelers, or consulting with academics about their observations while abroad.

Furthermore, under the existing rules, grantees under Ford, Rockefeller, and Carnegie programs may not be used operationally, nor may persons employed by these foundations be used. The Church Committee, however, did urge that the prohibition apply to others who were funded under other U.S.-sponsored programs. The rationale for this suggestion was fiscal, rather than ethical. For the CIA to use persons who were funded by Congress for non-intelligence purposes was misleading Congress. Misleading Congress may be foolish, but it is not necessarily illegal or unethical.

The Church Committee's confusion of congressional and ethical issues is understandable, I suppose -- but not forgiveable. I cannot fault the Committee, however, for challenging us to reconcile our obligations as citizens, with our responsibilities as academics searching for truth. An accommodation is more difficult for us than for many of our colleagues abroad, because our country is large, powerful, and envied. Others do not necessarily wish us well, but we must deal with other nations regularly,

and, to the maximum extent possible, with knowledge of their interests and intentions, if we wish, ourselves, to be effective. In the long run whether or not we enjoy academic freedom depends upon our ability to defend its principles, not merely against our own government, but against our adversaries abroad. We do a rather good job defending ourselves from our own government, but, if the Church Committee's recommendations are taken literally, will do a much poorer job defending ourselves abroad.

6-7-77
DAVE

I DID write

Baldwin, didn't I?

GB

2 He did well at
Santa Barbara
my reading of
according to L.A.
Times report -

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

Routing Slip

DCI
 RE AAUP MEMBER WHO
 WANTS TO HOLD OPEN
 POSITION AT NATIONAL
 AAUP MEETING.

TO:		ACTION	INFO	DATE	INITIAL
1	DCI		X		
2	DDCI		X		
3	D/DCI/IC				
4	S/MC				
5	DDS&T				
6	DDI		X		
7	DDA				
8	DDO		X		
9	D/DCI/NIO		X		
10	GC		X		
11	LC				
12	IG				
13	Compt				
14	D/Pers				
15	D/S				
16	DTR				
17	Asst/DCI		X		
18	AO/DCI				
19	C/IPS				
20	H. Knoche		X		
21	CAR		X		
22	C/Review Staff		X		

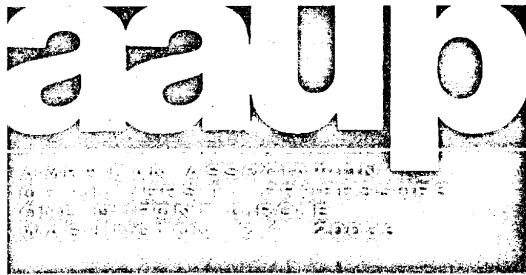
SUSPENSE

Date

Remarks: To 6, 8, 9, 17, 21, and 22:

See my note of 7 June, same subject.

*NOT YET DETERMINED IF DUANS TO MAKE INPUT;
 HE ALREADY HAS ADVISED YOU NOT TO OFFER
 ANY DCI HELP.)*



chapter conference letter

NO. 3
May 26, 1976

To : Chapter and Conference Officers

From: Joseph Duffey

1. SIXTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

Proposals for Annual Meeting Action. Under Annual Meeting procedures, proposals relating to the internal organization and activities of the Association (as distinguished from resolutions, which are concerned with subjects of general interest) were to be submitted to the Washington Office by May 25 in order that they might be distributed to chapters and conferences for consideration in advance of the Annual Meeting. Mimeographed copies of the proposals submitted by that date are enclosed with this Chapter/Conference Letter.

AAUP Legislative Day. The enclosed announcement includes full details of the activities scheduled for Thursday, June 24. Everyone who anticipates attending the Annual Meeting is invited to participate in AAUP Legislative Day. Pre-registration is requested.

2. CORRESPONDENCE WITH DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

Enclosed with the Chapter/Conference Letter of May 14 was a letter from President Van Alstyne to Director George Bush of the CIA concerning the report of the Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities. The CIA Director replied by letter of May 11 and President Van Alstyne responded by letter of May 20. The texts of these communications follow. (For the time being, the CIA's May 11 letter and President Van Alstyne's May 20 response are not being released to the press.):

May 4, Van Alstyne to Bush

The recent report of the Senate Select Committee on Foreign and Military Intelligence has confirmed what was already published elsewhere: that the CIA has for years covertly used academic institutions and employed academic persons in ways which compromise institutional and professional integrity. Universities and scholars have been paid to lie about the sources of their support, to mislead others, to induce betrayed confidences, to misstate the true objects of their interest, and to misrepresent the actual objectives of their work.

In ending the practice of CIA employment of missionaries and journalists for covert operations, you have demonstrated your concern for and your willingness to protect the integrity and independence of those institutions. As national President of the American Association of University Professors, I call upon you now to provide the same guarantees against misuse and subversion for our colleges and universities so that they may be freed of the stigma of covert, and often unknowing, participation in manipulative government operations conducted by the CIA.

The American Association of University Professors espouses the professional freedom of teachers and scholars not as some peculiar entitlement of their own but as a duty that they owe to their students and to the community as a whole. For

this reason, the 1940 Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure, issued jointly by the AAUP and the Association of American Colleges and endorsed by approximately a hundred learned and professional associations, provides:

"Institutions of higher education are conducted for the common good and not to further the interest of either the individual teacher or the institution as a whole. The common good depends upon the free search for truth and its free exposition."

A government which corrupts its colleges and universities by making political fronts of them has betrayed academic freedom and compromised all who teach. When colleges and universities are made conduits of deceit and when faculty members are paid to lie, there is an end to the common good of higher education.

On behalf of the American Association of University Professors, I write to express my dismay and utter repugnance at the disregard for the integrity of institutions of higher education shown by the CIA. The practice of shamelessly exploiting the reputation of American academics for trustworthiness, which has characterized CIA activity in the past, evidently continues today. I see no reason whatsoever why higher education should not be treated with the same regard previously shown in your action ending the covert use of missionaries and journalists by the CIA. I ask you to take steps to end the exploitation of the academic community and to disengage the Agency from covert activities which induce academics to betray their professional trust.

The American academic community awaits the necessary forthright CIA guarantees that its integrity will not be further compromised.

May 11, Bush to Van Alstyne

I received your letter of May 4, 1976, concerning CIA relations with the academic community on the same day that you released it to the press and gave a press interview about it. The fact that you did not await a response from me before making your letter public is somewhat troubling. Unfortunately, your doing this could suggest to others that your purpose is something other than the resolution of the problem you perceive.

Having said that, I firmly reject your allegations that CIA corrupts American "colleges and universities by making political fronts of them," that they "are made conduits of deceit" and that "faculty members are paid to lie." These charges reflect your ignorance of the true nature of the relationships we now have with American educational institutions and their faculties. To issue a statement that I am taking "steps to end the exploitation of the academic community," as you request, would give credibility to the series of erroneous assumptions and allegations in your letter. Whatever you have heard about the past, I can assure you that there is now no reason for the members of your association to fear any threat to their integrity or their high sense of purpose from CIA.

The Agency has several kinds of relationships with scholars and scholarly institutions. They include negotiated contracts for scientific research and development, contracts for social science research on the many matters that affect foreign policy, paid and unpaid consultations between scholars and CIA research analysts, contacts with individuals who have travelled abroad, and other similar contacts that help us fulfill our primary responsibility; i.e., to provide the policy makers of our government with information and assessments of foreign developments.

We seek the voluntary and witting cooperation of individuals who can help the foreign policy processes of the United States. Those who help are expressing a freedom of choice. Occasionally such relationships are confidential at our request, but more often they are discreet at the scholar's request because of his concern that he will be badgered by those who feel he should not be free to make this particular choice.

None of the relationships are intended to influence either what is taught or any other aspect of a scholar's work. We specifically do not try to inhibit the

"free search for truth and its free exposition." Indeed, we would be foolish to do so, for it is the truth we seek. We know that we have no monopoly on fact or on understanding, and to restrict the search for the truth would be extremely detrimental to our own purposes. If CIA were to isolate itself from the good counsel of the best scholars in our country, we would surely become a narrow organization that could give only inferior service to the government. The complexity of international relations today requires that our research be strong, and we intend to keep it strong by seeking the best perspectives from inside and outside the government.

Your letter indicates a serious lack of confidence in people in your own profession--a view that I do not share; that is, your belief that your academic colleagues, including members of your association, would accept pay "to lie about the sources of their support, to mislead others, to induce betrayed confidences, to misstate the true objects of their interest, and to misrepresent the actual objectives of their work." It is precisely that kind of irresponsible charge that tends to drive responsible relationships away from openness and toward the secretiveness that you seem to abhor.

Finally, Professor Van Alstyne, the seriousness of your charges demands that we find a way toward better understanding. Because we owe that to both our organizations, I invite you to meet with a few senior officials of this Agency for that purpose.

May 24, Van Alstyne to Bush

According to the Final Report of the Senate Select Committee To Study Governmental Operations with respect to Intelligence Activities (i.e., the "Church Committee"), the CIA has involved American academics and academic institutions in at least three respects which compromise their professional integrity. In addition, there are intimations in the Report in its italicized passages (which a footnote identifies as having been heavily edited "at the request of executive agencies") and a separate statement by Senators Phillip Hart, Walter Mondale, and Gary Hart suggesting still further involvement which, in the view of those Committee members, implies still other improper uses. (E.g., at p. 568 they write: "The discussion of the role of U.S. academics in the CIA's clandestine activities has been so diluted that its scope and impact on the American academic institutions is no longer clear...modified to the point where the Committee's concern about the CIA's blurring of the line between overt and covert, foreign and domestic activities, has been lost.")

The three respects that appear to be evident from what was not abridged in the Report are these:

a) Generally, an academic is expected to note his relation with an outside sponsor in reporting or publishing the results of his work in order to enable the reader to take that sponsorship into account. (Among law reviews, for instance, the standard rule is that an article subsidized by an interested party, or even a manuscript submitted by an attorney whose firm represents a client with an interest in the subject with which the article is concerned, must, at a minimum, disclose that relationship.) It is, of course, no answer at all that the author might himself prefer that the sponsorship not be disclosed. It is my understanding that the CIA has involved itself in this kind of unprofessional conduct. The general awareness that it is done necessarily undermines the credibility of all published research.

b) The Report speaks directly also of CIA contracting with scholars for publication to be used as "propaganda" which nonetheless appears to be professionally detached and reliable scholarly publication. Of course one can readily appreciate the exploitative value of trading upon the reputation of scholarly work to induce greater readership credibility than more forthright disclosure of its sponsorship and propaganda intention would bear. Insofar as there is a deliberate withholding of the true object of such publication, and a willful omission of disclosure that professional ethical standards would otherwise require, I believe

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it not too strong to have described these practices as calculated to mislead and to misrepresent. They are, in my profession, grounds for reproval and reprimand.

Additionally, the Report indicates that "operational use" is made of academics in "covert" fashion and that still others "are used in an unwitting manner for minor activities," involving, in the aggregate, academics from more than 100 institutions. In each of these respects (and the passages in which they are chronicled are heavily italicized--indicating the substantial censorship of which several Committee members complained), the Committee again drew attention to its own concern (which I fully share) "that American academics involved in such activities may undermine public confidence." It is quite impossible to infer from these passages that all that is involved is an admirable desire by the CIA not "to isolate itself from the good counsel of the best scholars in our country" (as you say in your letter), rather than, as the Committee says, much more ulterior uses.

The massive censoring of the Committee Report, the separate disclosures that the CIA disregarded its statutory mandate to confine itself to intelligence and to exercise no "police" powers within the United States (as in fact it did), the established fact that the agency clearly has not confined itself "to provide the policy makers of our government with information and assessments of foreign developments" but has, rather, pursued horrendous military operations abroad, and the concurrent unravelling of remarkable illegal domestic activity by the FBI as well, are, respectfully, not reassuring.

You write that "whatever you have heard about the past, I can assure you that there is now no reason for the members of your association to fear any threat to their integrity...from the CIA." (Emphasis added.) In anticipation, I expressed interest that you have announced that accredited journalists will no longer be used for covert operations, and asked specifically that an identical policy be announced as well in respect to academics. Your letter is doubtless written with care, yet I do not find within it even the facsimile of such an assurance. Whether by further correspondence or on the occasion of meeting "with a few senior officials of this Agency," as you suggest, I would be much relieved by that assurance of equal protection for the integrity of academics. Through the General Secretary of AAUP, Dr. Joseph Duffey, I shall provide every encouragement for such a meeting.

Finally, I appreciate your concern that my letter was released prior to receiving a reply from you. It was exceptional, albeit not exactly in the way you suggested (namely, that it suggests that my purpose was "something other than the resolution of the problem"). Rather, the point was additional to the immediate problem. The Church Committee, in issuing its Report, expressly and publicly solicited the response of academic organizations, suggesting that they had a public duty of their own to comment on its disclosures. The American Association of University Professors has, for sixty years, defended the freedom of teachers and scholars. To have treated the disclosures of the Church Committee as worthy of no public comment, and to have proceeded solely by private correspondence, seemed to me to invite public cynicism that the AAUP was itself complacent about the witting and unwitting involvement of the profession in the matters which the Church Committee had drawn so explicitly to the profession's attention and on which it has sought some timely response. The release of my letter was meant to indicate that we do care.

At the June 25 plenary session of the Annual Meeting in Santa Barbara there will be a panel discussion of the CIA and FBI covert activity on campuses, the Senate Committee Report, and AAUP's concerns. The panelists will be Professor Van Alstyne; Dr. Morton H. Halperin, Director of the Project on National Security and Civil Liberties, which is jointly sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Union Foundation and the Center for National Security Studies; and Professor Gordon B. Baldwin (Law, University of Wisconsin), currently Counselor on International Law for the Department of State.

5121 76-8127
Approved For Release 2005/06/08 : CIA-RDP79M00467A001100010014-4

TRANSMITTAL SLIP		
17 Jun 76		
TO: Note for the Record		
ROOM NO.	BUILDING	
REMARKS: Per call from OLC action was changed to C/IPS.		
FROM:		
ROOM NO.	BUILDING	EXTENSION

Approved For Release 2005/06/08 : CIA-RDP79M00467A001100010014-4

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

Routing Slip

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SUSPENSE _____ Date _____

Remarks: To 11: This is undoubtedly the letter to which Representative Dellums requested a prompt reply. Please have a reply prepared for the Director's signature in coordination with interested Agency components.

Approved For Release 2005/06/08 : CIA-RDP79M00467A001100010014-4

76-8127

XR 76-8117

Mr. George Bush
 Director
 Central Intelligence Agency
 Washington, D.C. 20505

May 27, 1976

?fms

Dear Mr. Bush,

We regard the recent reportings of the Senate Intelligence Committee with great alarm. Particularly disturbing are the disclosures that hundreds of "academics" in over 100 American colleges and universities are covertly linked to or used by the CIA. We perceive this covert presence and operation of the CIA on American campuses as a direct threat to our democratic rights and to the principles of academic freedom and integrity. As long as the university functions as a service agency for the CIA, or as a cover for it's "academic" and propoganda purposes, any claim to the university's role as an open and democratic institution is a farce.

We therefore believe that it is in the general public interest that all past and present contractual arrangements or agreements and personnel relationships between the CIA and the University of California be made public under the statutes of the Freedom of Information Act. This letter is such a request for the above named information.

---By contractual arrangement or agreement we mean research contracts (witting or unwitting on the part of the researchers), and training contracts or agreements, and recruiting agreements with the University of California.

---By personnel relationships we mean any person that is in the employ of the CIA or receives funding from the CIA (witting or unwitting), and persons who (paid or unpaid, witting or unwitting) "provide the CIA with leads, make introductions for intelligence purposes, occasionally write books and other material for propoganda purposes", collect or disseminate information on a regular or non-regular basis, and engage in the "spotting" and/or recruitment of foreign nationals who are students at the University of California. This category would also include those activities that are unknown to us and not mentioned above.

---Personnel includes non-academic staff, research assistants, teaching assistants, graduate students, professors, undergraduate students, administrators, student athletes and coaches.

---By University of California we include all UC campuses. These are UC-Davis, UC-Berkeley, UC-Los Angeles, UC-Santa Barbara, UC-Irvine, UC-Riverside, UC-San Diego, UC-Santa Cruz, UC-San Francisco, and the University of California Extension services at Los Angeles and Berkeley.

We appreciate the fair and expedient handling of this matter.

EXECUTIVE REGISTRY FILE E-1.2.1

Sincerely,

Nathan Gardels

Nathan Gardels
 Student, UC-Los Angeles

2408 Fifth Street #2
 Santa Monica, CA 90405



OFFICIAL SEAL
 Kathryn J. Lafont

NOTARY PUBLIC - CALIFORNIA
 PRINCIPAL OFFICE IN
 LOS ANGELES COUNTY

My Commission Expires June 12, 1976

ENDORSEMENTS ATTACHED

Approved For Release 2005/06/08 : CIA-RDP79M00467A001100010014-4

Room 7-112

Headquarters

XC:

UCLA Daily Bruin

New York Times

Washington Post

Los Angeles Times

UPI

AP

College Press Service

Reuters

Congressman Ronald Dellums

Senator Daniel Inouye

Senator Alan Cranston

ENDORSEMENTS

Student Body Presidents' Council (Graduate and Undergraduate Student Body Presidents from all 9 University of California campuses--endorsed at May 20-21 meeting in San Francisco)

Student Legislative Council, UCLA (MOTION 5/12/76: "UCLA's Student Legislative Council on behalf of the 20,000 member Undergraduate Student Association, endorse this letter asking for the CIA to make public the information asked for in the body of the letter".)

Graduate Student Association, UCLA

Student Bar Association, UCLA

Chicano Law Students Association, UCLA

Black Law Students Association, UCLA

National Lawyers Guild, UCLA

Asian Student Union, UCLA

MEChA, UCLA

Black Student Alliance, UCLA

Black Statewide Coordinating Committee for University of California (Black Student Alliance groups on all University of California campuses)

Associated Students, UC-Santa Barbara

American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, AFSCME 2070 (staff-UCLA)

Jack Blackburn, President
American Federation of Teachers, AFT 1990 (UCLA-faculty)

American Federation of Teachers, AFT 2023 (UC Davis-faculty)

Art Lightfoot, President
Conference of University of California Employees

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

Executive Registry

76-7890/A

25 MAY 1976

Messrs. Layton Olson, David Rosen,
Joseph Duffey and Robert Kaplan
c/o N.S.E.F. *National Student Educational Fund*
Suite #305
2000 P Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Gentlemen:

Your letter of 5 May 1976, asking me to accede to a variety of requests, has caused me deep concern. While I understand your point of view, I am sure you will appreciate the fact that this Agency has received considerable adverse, and often unfair, publicity based on a less than adequate knowledge of the circumstances.

As I have assured one of your colleagues, I want to assure you that regardless of whatever you may have heard about the past there is now no reason for the American academic community to fear any threat to its integrity or high sense of purpose from the CIA. It is true that we maintain many relationships with American universities, research institutions and individual scholars. However, none of these involve the influencing of what is being taught or the professional work of any scholar, and does not inhibit in any way the freedom and integrity of the academic community.

All we seek, openly or with discretion as circumstances require, is the voluntary and witting cooperation of those individuals who wish to express their freedom of choice by contributing to the intelligence needs of their government. Experience has shown that our relationships with the academic community have contributed greatly to these needs.

With respect to your requests, I feel I cannot adopt any position which would deprive this nation of the needed expertise freely and voluntarily given by members of the American academic community. In addition to the loss this nation would suffer, the course you suggest would be an infringement of the rights of the individual members of the academic community. I am sure that many members of your organization espouse the ideas set forth in your letter. But I am equally sure there are many who would take an opposing view. Many persons, motivated

Executive Registry
Room 7-E-12
Headquarters

(EXECUTIVE REGISTRY FILE)

E-1.2.1



by their sense of responsibility and patriotism, wish to contribute to the welfare of the nation. To adopt a policy which would prevent this would be an intrusion on the privacy and integrity of the academic community and would infringe on the very freedom which you are trying to protect. Additionally, there are constitutional questions in the areas of freedom of choice, discrimination and equal protection under the law which edicts along the lines you suggest would raise if based merely on an individual's ties to the academic world.

Finally, I do not feel it would be useful to address each of your requests. My responsibilities are well documented. This Agency values its exchange with American academic institutions and I believe such exchange is similarly important to the academic world. I see no reason to alter this relationship.

Sincerely,

/s/ George Bush

George Bush
Director

STAT

SA/ADD0 [] cj (24 May 76)

Distribution:

- Orig - addressee
- 1 - DCI
- 1 - Executive Registry
- 1 - DDO Registry
- 1 - SA/ADD0 Chrono

STAT

C/Rev Staff



MEMORANDUM FOR:

~~Executive Secretary~~

Executive Registry

76-7890/1

Ben --

DDI forwards this letter as an alternative method of response to the attached, developed admittedly after considerable agonizing.

We would suggest that regardless of the choice of responses, that the letter itself be sent to the writers as individuals and not to their institutional address (Concerned Academics).

The envelope may carry that label, however.



Date 18 May 1976

FORM 101 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS

*Ph let
me have your
views*

STAT



18 May

XR 76-7868

E 1.2.1

(EXECUTIVE REGISTRY FILE

E-1.2.1

Messrs. Layton Olson, Joseph Duffey,
David Rosen and Robert Kaplan
Suite #305
2000 P Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Gentlemen:

On May 5, 1976, you sent me a letter requesting that CIA be prohibited from certain kinds of activities and that I comment on each of the requests. I have read your letter several times and have decided that I cannot in good conscience comply with your requests.

As you yourselves have noted, the Senate Select Committee has studied our relationships with the academic community and has made various recommendations for legislation and for oversight. Rather than accede to your requests, I have decided to await Congressional action on these matters. I can assure you, however, that the CIA will comply in every respect with whatever laws are passed and whatever guidance it receives from the Congress in its oversight function.

Sincerely,

George Bush
Director

DRAFT: 5/14/76

STAT

Names

~~Concerned Academics~~

c/o N.S.E.F.

Suite #305

2000 P Street, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20036

Gentlemen:

Your letter of 5 May 1976, asking me to accede to a variety of requests, has caused me deep concern. While I can easily understand your point of view, I am sure you will appreciate the fact that this Agency has received considerable adverse, and to some degree unfair, publicity based on a less than adequate knowledge of the circumstances, something which I believe all of us in positions of high responsibility should try to avoid.

I want to assure you that, regardless of whatever you may have heard about the past, there is now no reason for the American academic community to fear any threat to its integrity or high sense of purpose from the CIA. It is true that we maintain many relationships with American universities, research institutions and individual scholars. However, none of these involve the influencing of what is being taught or the professional work of any scholar, and does not inhibit in any way the freedom and integrity of the academic community.

All we seek, openly or with discretion as circumstances require, is the voluntary and witting cooperation of those individuals who can contribute to the intelligence needs of their government. Experience has shown that our relationships with the academic community have contributed greatly to these needs.

With respect to your requests, I feel I cannot adopt any position which would deprive this nation of the needed expertise freely and voluntarily

given by members of the American academic community. In addition to the loss this nation would suffer, the course you suggest would be an infringement of the rights of the individual members of the academic community. I am sure that many members of your organization espouse the ideas set forth in your letter. But I am equally sure there are many who would take an opposing view. To adopt a policy which would prevent those who, motivated by their sense of responsibility and patriotism wish to contribute to the welfare of the nation would, I feel, be an intrusion on the privacy and integrity of the academic community and would infringe on the very freedom which you are trying to protect.

Additionally, there are constitutional questions in the areas of freedom of choice, discrimination and equal protection under the law which edicts along the lines you suggest would raise if based merely on an individual's ties to the academic world. As the Senate Select Committee report reflects, "it is the responsibility of private institutions and particularly the American academic community to set the professional and ethical standards of its members" rather than the prerogative of government.

You raise two points relating to past abuses with which I am in agreement - the question of the publication and distribution in the U.S. of books and some of the activities that evolved under Operation CHAOS. Regretably, while these may have seemed appropriate at the time I assure you that they ended long ago and new policies, including those directed by the President in his executive order, will prevent future abuses.

I do not feel it necessary or useful to address each of your other requests, nor will I cite specific legislative or executive order authority. My responses are well documented,

and this question is thoroughly covered in the final report of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, which undoubtedly is available to you.

This Agency values its exchange with American academic institutions and I believe such exchange is similarly important to the academic world. I see no reason to alter this relationship.

CB

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Next 3 Page(s) In Document Exempt

Approved For Release 2005/06/08 : CIA-RDP79M00467A001100010014-4

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

25 March 1976

Executive Registry

76-1558/A

Basic

E 1.2.1

15 Mar 76

Mr. Karl von Vorys
University of Pennsylvania
Department of Political Science
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19174

Dear Mr. von Vorys:

Mr. Bush has referred your letter of 15 March to me for reply.

With respect to the reference assistance you requested, I am pleased to enclose the following materials:

1. National Basic Intelligence Factbook, January 1976.
2. People's Republic of China: International Trade Handbook, October 1975. This is an updated version of your item 3 request.
3. The Handbook of Economic Statistics, August 1975.

Note that these publications are available for sale to the public through the Library of Congress Document Expediting Project. Ordering information is on the inside cover. Many institutions subscribe to the project and receive all of the materials CIA makes available each year.

I am sorry to say that your item 5 request, the Middle East Atlas, is out of print and no longer available. Your item 4 request, Foreign Affairs Research Projects: Bureau of Intelligence and Research can probably be acquired by writing the Department of State, Bureau of Intelligence and Research.

I hope that these materials will be useful.

Sincerely,

Coordinator for Academic Relations



STAT

5/22/76

FROM: CAR

Gary,

Could you handle this one?

STAT

Date 19 March 1976

TM 101 USE PREVIOUS
75 EDITIONS

DCI/DDCI

Routing Slip

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SUSPENSE

Date

Remarks:

For direct reply, please.

Casey Bush
DCI/DOCK

UNIVERSITY of PENNSYLVANIA

PHILADELPHIA 19174

DDI-955

DEPARTMENT OF
POLITICAL SCIENCE CC

March 15, 1976

Mr. George Bush
Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C. 20505

Dear George:

Thank you very much for your letter. We do appreciate that you are very busy and I suppose in view of the Senate confirmation circus you may want to avoid the slightest semblance of political activity. In any case, whenever you are in Philadelphia please let us know and we will certainly roll out the red carpet.

I am now working on a book entitled Poverty, Economic Development and Political Stability and as part of this effort some of my research assistants came up with some presumably unclassified CIA publications.

1. National Basic Intelligence Handbook, semi-annual, July 1975, ASI/MF/5.
2. People's Republic of China. International Trade Handbook, ASI/MF/3.
3. CIA Special and Irregular Publication. Research Aid on the People's Republic of China. Trade Handbook, August, 1973, A-73/29.
4. Foreign Affairs Research Projects: Bureau of Intelligence and Research, SI.101/10.974, 5 volumes.
5. The Issues in the Middle East (Atlas), ASI/MF S/N 4115-00046.
6. Handbook of Economic Statistics, ASI/MF/4.

Could I ask you please to pass these requests to the appropriate CIA officer and if they are indeed unclassified, I would appreciate receiving a copy.

Thank you again for your cooperation and support.

Sincerely,

Karl von Vorys

STAT

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~~Approved For Release 2005/06/08 : CIA-RDP79M00467A001100010014-4~~

ER has no record of DCI letter to Karl von Vorys.

ER

Approved For Release 2005/06/08 : CIA-RDP79M00467A001100010014-4

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SUSPENSE

Date

Remarks:

For direct reply, please.

Gage Bush
DCI/DDCI

E-1.2.1

UNIVERSITY of PENNSYLVANIA

PHILADELPHIA 19174

DEPARTMENT OF
POLITICAL SCIENCE CC

March 15, 1976

Mr. George Bush
Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C. 20505

Dear George:

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3. CIA Special and Irregular Publication. Research Aid on the People's Republic of China. Trade Handbook, August, 1973, A-73/29.
4. Foreign Affairs Research Projects: Bureau of Intelligence and Research, SI.101/10.974, 5 volumes.
5. The Issues in the Middle East (Atlas), ASI/MF S/N 4115-00046.
6. Handbook of Economic Statistics, ASI/MF/4.

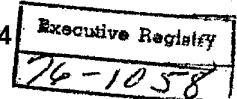
[Could I ask you please to pass these requests to the appropriate CIA officer and if they are indeed unclassified, I would appreciate receiving a copy.

Thank you again for your cooperation and support.

Sincerely,

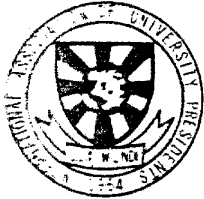

Karl von Vorys

KvV/pe



The International Association of University Presidents

*Recd
21 Feb 76*



The Secretariat
The IAUP, Kyung Hee University
Seoul, 131, Korea

Executive Committee

Dr. Young Seek Choue
President
Publisher of Lux Mundi

Dr. Young Seek Choue (President) -- Kyung Hee University
Dr. Peter Sammartino -- Fairleigh Dickinson University
Dr. Carlos P. Romulo -- University of the Philippines
Dr. William R. Wood -- University of Alaska
Dr. Peter De Somer -- Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

Dr. Zelman Cowen -- University of Queensland
Dr. Henry King Stanford -- University of Miami
Dr. Bernard Cherrick -- Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Dr. Albert N. Whiting -- North Carolina Central University
Dr. Nobuyuki Fukuda -- Tsukuba University

"PEACE, WELFARE AND SECURITY FOR MANKIND THROUGH EDUCATION"

His Excellency George Bush
Chief of Mission
United Nations United States of America Mission to UN
New York
U. S. A.

DEAR COLLEAGUES:

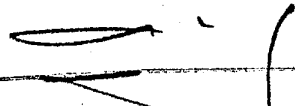
The fourth triennial conference of the International Association of University Presidents, which was held jointly with the fifteenth annual meeting of the American Association of State Colleges and Universities in Boston from November 11 through 13, was extremely productive, much more productive than many of us had initially expected.

Over six hundred university and college presidents of both IAUP and AASCU, representing forty-five countries, gathered there to deliberate upon common problems, to explore ways and means to meet the demands of our rapidly changing times and to chart the future course of higher education. Outstanding intellectual giants of our age spoke at the conference and forty scholarly papers were presented.

On the practical side, the conference resolved to promote more exchange programs among universities and colleges throughout the world, and to establish a Clearing House of Information within the framework of the IAUP Secretariat. This will serve as a valuable instrument in effectuating plans for international education. But above all, the conference unanimously decided to declare some major principles for mankind to pursue in the form of a declaration.

Enclosed is the Boston Declaration which can hopefully serve as a guideline for those who are in search of future directions for higher education as well as for world history. I know that you will enjoy reading it, and, hopefully, can implement it in your institute.

Sincerely,


Young Seek Choue
President, IAUP


Approved For Release 2005/06/08 : CIA-RDP79M00467A001100010014-4

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

Routing Slip

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 Executive Secretary
 Date 2/24/76

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